6: Sauer--46 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 361, 461, 262

"This neighbourhood [RCH: along the Amicon River] contains, within the circumference of 30 versts, about 20 inhabited Yakut huts. The face of the country is moderately level for about 90 versts, interspersed with meadows and groves of larch, poplar, asp, birch, and alder, with underwoods of black and red currants, dog-rose, and raspberry. The situation is well calculated for the Yakuti; for, placed beyond the reach of intruding visitors, they pass their time in savage indolence, and, like the bears, their neighbours, are only roused from their lethargy by the absolute calls of nature, when they prowl about in quest of animals. The verges of the mountains that bound the plain are infested with bears, lynxes, wolves, foxes, elks, deer, hares, squirrels, and some sables. The meadows support their immense numbers of cattle and horses, and the rivers and lakes abound in fish and wild fowl; so that a trifling effort is sufficient to supply every want that they are sensible of."

6: Sauer--115 G-5 (1785-94)-1802 Yakut
116, 262, 484

"In their roving parties, on the chase or travelling, they only take with them a scanty supply of koumis, depending on chance for the rest; and should their pursuits prove unfortunate, they find their food in the inner bark of the pines and birch-trees, or the different edible roots. Squirrels are very good eating, but their favourite food is the whistling marmot."

9: Stadling--90-91 E-3 (1898) 1901 Yakut
116, 252, 262, 272

"The usual food of the great majority of Yakuts is the so-called 'tar,' which is a mixture of meat, fish, various roots, grass, and pine-bark. This is put into skimmed milk mixed with water, to which is added a little flour, if such is to be had, and the whole is boiled into a kind of [91] porridge. The Yakuts drink a great deal of tea, and are very fond of strong spirits. The wealthy eat meat every day and a kind of thick pancake, made of water and barley-flour."

10: Bush--180 T-3 (1865-67) 1871 Yakut
116, 262

"We afterward learned that horse-meat is preferred by many of these natives [RCH: of northeastern Siberia] (by the Yakouts especially) to either beef or deermeat. By them the entrails are preferred to any other portion of the animal, and the head next."

10: Bush--299 T-3 (1865-67) 1871 Yakut
116, 234, 262

"The Yakouts are by far the most superior and numerous tribe of Eastern Siberia. They dwell in permanent abodes, and are very domestic in their tastes. Horses and cows are their constant companions, even sharing their houses with them. Both are highly esteemed for their flesh, and the milk of the latter figures largely in their bills of fare. They manufacture a kind of butter by boiling the milk, which is greatly used by the Russians, all over the country, as a substitute for table butter."

11: Lansdell--301-302 M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 234, 252, 262, 273

"Milk is in general request among them, whether from cows or mares; and when they are [302] in the neighbourhood of the Russians, and can get flour, they do so; but far away in the forests they make a sort of porridge or bread, not exactly of sawdust, but of the under bark of the spruce, fir, and larch, which they cut in small pieces, or pound in a mortar, mixing it with milk, or with dried fish, or boiling it with glutinous tops of the young sprouts. In spring, when the sap is rising, they gather their bark harvest. They make also fermented beverages of milk; and in the height of summer, when the mares foal, an orgie is held, at which the men drain enormous bowls of this intoxicating liquor; whilst the women, denied the privilege of intoxication, solace themselves by getting as near to it as they can by smoking tobacco. The distillation of sour milk is also practised, producing a coarse spirit known as arigui. They devour likewise enormous quantities of melted butter. This also can be prepared in such a way as to cause intoxication when taken in sufficient quantities."

11: Lansdell--307-308 M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 224, 262

"Mr. Erman describes the killing, during his journey, of a wild sheep, and the joy of the Yakutes at the prospect of getting fresh meat for supper. One of them cried out characteristically, 'I will stay awake the whole night, and eat till we set out.' Whilst the carcase was being prepared, every one cut for himself some thin wooden skewers, on which he spitted a row of little bits of meat. These were only appetizers, to be followed by large pieces boiled in the pot. The hunter, however, who had killed the sheep claimed as his perquisite the animal's head; the brains, as a [308] special delicacy, he sucked out raw, and cut out the eyes to be dressed for his own exclusive benefit."

13: Sarytschew--9 [2] N-3 (1785-90) 1806 Yakut
116, 262, 651, 797

"The number of Jakuts who have embraced the Christian faith is not inconsiderable, yet the majority are of the poorer class, who have submitted to be baptised perhaps in order to be freed for some years from the poll-tax. The rich are not disposed to renounce a plurality of wives, nor the use of meat, butter, milk, and above all, horse-flesh, during the fasts, as enjoined by the Catholic faith. The latter is the greatest delicacy they can possibly conceive; and they often tell the Russians, that if they were once to make a proper meal from the flesh of a horse, they would in future prefer it to the tenderest beef. They eat the fat of horses and cows mostly raw, without any addition, and drink melted butter with the greatest avidity; which latter they regard as an excellent remedy for many disorders, and rub their sick with it when necessary. By way of pacifying a cross child, they put a piece of raw fat into its hand to suck. In summer, when the mares foal, they make their kumys from the milk, after the manner of the Tartars. Their beverage, in winter, consists of sour milk, unchurned butter, and water, which I found indeed not unpalatable. Hence it will appear, that almost all their food is composed of things forbidden by our (the Greek) church; but our priests keep the converted Jakuts very strict to their duty, and will not allow them to touch a single article that is prohibited; but as they have neither corn, fruit, nor fish, it is almost impossible for them to abstain so rigidly. The cause, therefore, why so many Jakuts remain heathens, may be attributed to the indulgence of their appetites."

16: Great Britain Admiralty -- 167 [2] G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut
116, 222, 252, 262

"The principal food of the Okhotsk Yakuts is dried fish; the inland tribes eat horse-flesh with avidity: they prefer it to beef, and rarely kill oxen for food. One special dish of theirs is called tar: it is a mixture of meat, fish, various roots, grass and the under-bark of spruce, fir, or larch, pounded in a mortar; this is put into skimmed-milk mixed with water to which is added a little flour (when available), and the whole is boiled into a kind of porridge. They gather their bark harvest in spring, when the sap is rising. Their special intoxicant is kumis (fermented mare's milk); they also drink large bowls of melted butter. Another of their delicacies is jelly extracted from reindeer-horns and flavoured with pine-bark. They collect huge quantities of berries and cedar-cones for food. They are also great consumers of tea."

17: Erman--299 [2] N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 262, 527, 234

"No less peculiar is the food of these people; they all prefer horse flesh to beef, but are so careful of their cattle that none but the richest slaughter any regularly, the rest only on festivals and special occasions. At wedding feasts all the guests are treated with beef, and the bride serves up to her future lord a boiled horse's head, garnished with a kind of sausage made of horse flesh. Far more important to the majority of the Yakuts is the milk of their cows and mares. In summer they have the greatest abundance of it, and then they use it unmixed in making many dishes. For winter they keep a stock of milk in vessels of birch bark, and with a certain quantity of it, thinned with water, and some vegetable substances, they make their daily porridge. It is only in the neighbourhood of the Russians that they can procure flour for this purpose; in the remoter yurts, the under bark of the fir and larch supplies the ordinary material of bread. This is pounded in a mortar, made, like the walls of the yurts themselves, of cow-dung laid on basket work, and frozen hard."

17: Erman--309-310 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 262, 291, 372

"The yurts of Lebegine and Menjega belong also to cow-keeping Yakuts. These people repeated to us the assurance that they prefer horse-flesh to all other meat, and that from their horned cattle they take for food, only milk and butter. Many here, too, wore pelisses of horse-skin, with the hair turned outwards; the rest, the usual sana-yakh or riding coat, which was made of reindeer leather, dyed of a reddish colour, and trimmed with a blue border at the corners. I observed in these yurts, for the first time, an excellent substitute for our tinder; it is made of the stalks of a kind of grass which grows in dry places. These are dried and beaten in the mortars which the Yakuts employ in preparing the bark meal. By this means the spiral vessels of the grass are separated from the rest, in tough, woolly [310] threads, about a fifth of a line thick. They are then rubbed well with wood-ashes from the hearth, and are thus rendered extremely inflammable. For a long time I used no other than this Yakutian tinder, and if it got damp I renewed it, and made it as susceptible as ever by only rubbing it with larch-ashes. It burned slowly, with an agreeable smell, and was capable of kindling even moist tobacco."

24: Wrangell--37 [2] G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut
116, 252, 262

"Their food consists of sour cows' milk, mares' milk, of beef, and of horseflesh. They boil their meat, but never roast or bake it, and bread is unknown among them. Fat is their greatest delicacy, and they eat it in every possible shape; raw, melted, fresh, or spoiled. In general, indeed, they regard quantity more than quality in their food. They grate the inner bark of the larch, and sometimes of the fir, and mix it with fish, a little meal and milk, or, in preference, with fat, and make it into a sort of broth, which they consume in large quantities. They prepare from cows' milk what is called Jakutian butter, which is in reality more like cheese or curd, and has a sourish taste: it is not very rich, and is a very good article of food eaten alone."

24: Wrangell--167-168 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut
116, 233, 262, 731

"As their horses subsist during winter on the grass which they find under the snow, the Jakuti migrate in spring with their herds, in order to leave the pas-[168]ture in the neighbourhood of their winter-dwellings undisturbed. The number of horned cattle they can keep depends on the quantity of winter-forage which they are able to obtain, and nothing can exceed the industry with which they pursue this most important object during the short summer. Throughout the whole of the hay-making season they live almost entirely on kumyss, of which they drink great quantities. It agrees with them remarkably well, and they grow fat and strong with scarcely any other food. One of the greatest disasters which can befall them is a sudden and early winter, cutting short the hay-harvest. Such was the case the present year. A keen wind from the northwest set in on the 22nd of August, with a heavy fall of snow, which covered all the hay remaining in the meadows; and as only part of it had been stacked, the loss was very great. It was followed by such severe cold that the lakes froze, and troops of wolves came out of the forest and carried off above eighty cows. At the same time, the Kolyma was so unusually swollen that the fishery in a great measure failed. A winter of scarcity, therefore, seemed inevitable; but nothing appeared to distress the herdsmen so much as being obliged, on account of their insufficient store of hay, to diminish still farther the number of their cattle, so many of which they had already lost by the ravages of the wolves."

37: Dobell--305-306 G-2 (1812-13) 1830 Yakut
116, 234, 262, 482

"These people hav- [306] ing plenty of cattle, I procured, for my journey, a good stock of milk, butter, &c. which I carried after the Yakut manner, in two leathern bags, made of horse-hide, and called simmire. The Yakuts mix sour milk and cream together in those bags, which, after one has travelled a few hours on horseback, becomes butter and buttermilk; the butter collecting in small lumps, from the size of a pea to that of a marble. A Yakut drinks the butter and butter-milk together, or eats the butter in handfuls with his boiled meat, oftentimes in such quantities as, were I to relate it, would exceed belief! I found, however, by experience, when on the Towinsk road, that butter and sour butter-milk eaten together are much lighter on the stomach than butter eaten in the usual way. Indeed, the sour butter I could eat more of, without feeling cloyed, than of the ordinary sort."

37: Dobell--307 G-2 (1812-13) 1830 Yakut
116, 262, 577

"During the afternoon we had met several convoys of horses, carrying flour, liquor, &c. to Ochotsk, to the number of eighty or a hundred. Two of these convoys having stopped to pass the night close to our encampment, my Yakuts kept a strict watch until the following morning, fearful of having some of their horses stolen. On inquiry I found those people were in the habit of stealing horses for food, whenever a good opportunity offered, being fonder of horseflesh than any other; so that when two strange convoys encamp together, they are obliged to watch one another, being extremely artful and expert in thieving. Those who get possession of a horse contrive to decamp suddenly, and ride several versts off, when they kill the animal, bury his bones, and conceal the flesh in their bags, before the person robbed discovers the theft."

38: Dobell--38 [2] G-2 (1812-13) 1830 Yakut
116, 262, 465, 622

"Many of them actually live, the greater part of the winter, on the inner bark of the yellow pine tree, scraped fine, and mixed with beef or horse's fat. I have been confidently informed, that the Yakut Princes and head men feed their labourers in this manner; giving them besides two miserable suits of clothes, and ten or twelve rubles per annum. This keeps the poor labourers constantly in debt; for the allowance of their masters both for food and raiment is insufficient."

38: Dobell--40-41 G-2 (1812-13) 1830 Yakut
116, 234, 252, 262

"They make butter by melting sour cream over the fire; after it is melted, it is strained into birch vessels and suffered to cool: the milk that remains is suffered to sour; and this, boiled with rye-flour, and called in their language bordook, is a favorite food, and, I believe, a very wholesome one.

Another dish they are fond of is solimat; [41] this is rye-flour and butter boiled in a copper kettle until it begins to burn a little, when hot water and salt are added occasionally, until the whole is well boiled. The flour and water form a kind of pudding, and the greater part of the butter floats on the surface, which the Yakut delights to sip with his solimat."

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

dress and dress-ornamentation of the Tartaric peoples, the dualistic religious ideas, and the poetical folk-lore, of Western Asia.

In their old country they were principally horse-breeders. The horses were employed both as beasts of burden and as animals for riding; their skins were used for clothing; their flesh, for food; and kumiss, the fermented drink prepared from mare's milk, served not only as a stimulating beverage, but also as a most important nutritious food.[1] For a time after their arrival in their new abode, the horse was still their principal domestic animal, and kumiss their essential food; but gradually the climatic conditions of the country on the one hand, and contact with Russian culture on the other, have exerted a modifying influence, which is still operative, over both the mental and the material culture of the Yakut. A small part of the tribe in the extreme north of the Yakut province must have experienced a decadence of their former material life. This minority became reindeer-breeders, dog-breeders, or hunters, and fish-eaters. But even into these new lines of life the Yakut introduced more advanced methods.

The tribe as a whole, while engaged in horse and cattle breeding as their chief occupation, began to increase the number of their horned cattle at the expense of their number of horses. Of cow's milk they could make, for use during the long winter, butter, a kind of cheese, and some other milk products which cannot, as we shall see later, be made from mare's milk. The Russian gold-mining companies on the rivers Olekma and Vitim proved profitable buyers of these cattle, and this gave an impetus to the raising of them. Finally, the cultivation of cereal plants, borrowed from the Russians in the southern parts of the Yakut Province, where the climate allows of it, has made such progress in the last twenty years, that at present agriculture is the chief occupation, and bread the staple food, of many Yakut families of the District of Yakutsk, and particularly of that of Olekminsk. Nowadays large droves of horses, and

[1] Some travellers consider that the Yakut horse belongs to the present race of horses of the steppes of southwestern Siberia; but it is difficult to say whether the Yakut horse of to-day has any connection with the extinct horse, the fossil remains of which have been found in the polar regions of northeastern Siberia.

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

231 mares for milking, can be found only in those districts far removed from the centres of influence of Russian culture, and they belong to a few very rich families.

178 273 234 757 262 Together with the passing of the production of kumiss, the ancient ornamented kumiss vessels and goblets are also disappearing, as well as the customs, festivals, and ceremonials associated with the production and use of kumiss. Kumiss, which of late has been recommended by physicians as an excellent therapeutic agent in some diseases, was known as a nutritious form of food in remotest antiquity to all the nomadic peoples of Central Asia and of the southeastern part of Europe. Herodotus also mentions it. It is poorer in fat, casein, albumen, and salts, but much richer in milk-sugar, than cow's milk, and therefore is not adapted for butter and cheese making. Fresh mare's milk tastes somewhat disagreeably sweetish. The Yakut do not like it fresh as a drink, but they take it when it is boiled, and also in their tea. Formerly they made from it — cooked with the pounded roots of *Lilium spectabile, L. martagon, Butomus umbellatus,* or *Artemisia vulgaris* — a kind of gruel called *butahas*. As far as we know at present, the preparation of kumiss from mare's milk is based on the fermentation caused by micro-organisms. Under their influence, the milk-sugar turns to lactic acid. When this process is over, the fermentation of alcohol from the lactic acid begins. It has been found of late years that the micro-organisms of kumiss, like those of kephir (a fermented drink prepared from cow's milk), form grains, which can be washed, dried, and preserved. With their aid, kumiss is nowadays prepared for medicinal purposes.

234 273 The Yakut, like the Kirghis and Bashkir, use as a ferment some old kumiss or the residue of the kumiss of the past year, carefully collected from the vessels, and dried and preserved. This ferment of kumiss is called *xoyū* ("pulp"). If they have none, the Yakut, as well as the Bashkir, use sour cow's milk as a ferment; but such kumiss is not considered good by [415] the Yakut. When the mare is being milked, buckets made of birch-bark (see Plate XXII, Fig. 4) are used as vessels to receive the fluid. When the milking is finished, the buckets are left until the milk becomes cold, when it is diluted with an equal

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

I have already mentioned that in former times horse-flesh and kumiss formed the staple food of the Yakut. The hay-makers often carried kumiss with them in skin bottles to the fields as their only food, and it was sufficient for them. "Kumiss slakes the thirst, exhilarates, restores strength, and does not overcharge the stomach," say the Yakut. The hay-makers worked easily and quickly. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the horse became the object of a particular cult, as an animal on which man chiefly depended for his existence.

Kumiss and fat mare's flesh are regarded in the myths as food worthy of the heroes of divine origin. The horse, tradition says, was let down from heaven and given to man by the chief of the benevolent deities, Lord Bright-Creator (Ürüñ Ayy Toyon).[1] According to another tradition recorded by me on the Kolyma River, Lord Bright-Creator sent down to earth another deity, Bar-Allei-Lord (Bar Allei Toyon), to instruct men how to make kumiss. The deity brought with him to the earth the ferment for making kumiss (*soyū*). One of the ancestors of the Yakut tribe, Dyghyn, says another legend recorded by me, had such large droves of mares, that the kumiss made of their milk filled whole lakes, and everybody came to their borders and drank.

In the myths we find the winged steed an important personage, — the counsellor, assistant, and companion of the hero in battles and travels. Ayysyt, the goddess of fecundity, is supposed to be near the mare during the first three days of foaling. The same deity, or another deity of the same name, — this is not quite clear, — also assists the lying-in woman. In love-songs we often find, by way of praise, the comparison of the hero to a colt, and of the heroine to a mare.

It is regarded as a sin to beat a horse. The bones of a horse must not lie on the ground. In olden times the bones of horses were placed on a platform. If a Yakut finds in his path

[1] For the division of Yakut supernatural beings into "creators" (*ayy*) and "evil spirits" (*abarys*), see Jochelson, The Koryak (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Leiden, 1905, Vol. vi, p. 229).

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

the goblets, and pass them on to the less important and the younger people. Behind every honored or aged member of the clan, sit or stand his domestics, less esteemed relatives, young men, and laborers. He looks after the welfare of each of these. When the goblet is emptied, it is given back to the steward or the host to be filled.

At the same time, not far from the altar, other stewards are preparing tables, or simply boards on the ground, on which are placed piles of horse and cow flesh, and dishes of melted butter. Every chief of a family or clan receives a large portion of meat and butter, which he divides among his people.

The whole day passes with songs, round dances, games, races and other contests, and shamanistic performances. The poetical choral songs of the young men and girls, in praise of the spring and love, are most interesting.[1] TROSTCHANSKY[2] relates, also, that during the kumiss festival the change of winter to spring is personated in a contest between two men. One of them, dressed in white, represents spring, and is called "son of 'creator'" (*ayy uola*). The other, clad in black, represents winter, and is called "son of evil spirit" (*abasy uola*).

The autumnal festival is celebrated in honor of the destructive forces, and is therefore called *abasy-ysyax*. This festival is dedicated to the evil spirits (*abasylar*), the inhabitants of the west and the representatives of darkness and night, in order that they may not interfere with them in winter, the time of the year when starvation, disease, and death are imminent. This festival, also, takes place in the open air, but at night.

The first night of the festival is in honor of Big-Lord (*Ulu-Toyon*) and the evil spirits of the upper world subordinate to him. The second night is in honor of *Axsan Duolai* and his subordinates, the evil spirits of the lower world. To all of these evil spirits, in addition to the libations of kumiss made to the benevolent deities, blood sacrifices of cattle and horses are also made. This ceremony, according to Trost-

[1] Examples of such songs may be found in MIDDENDORFF, Sibirische Reise (St. Petersburg, 1875), Part 2, p. 1578; SIEROSHEVSKI, The Yakut (St. Petersburg, 1896), Vol. 1, pp. 587 et seq.

[2] The Black Faith of the Yakut (Kazan, 1902), p. 106.

43: Karutz--74 [6] E-2 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 171, 241, 262

The Yakuts are not only cattle-breeders, but also occupy themselves a little with agriculture.

They live primarily on grain, which is replaced by a meal of grits made of ground larch bark among the poor; they live also on meat, butter, cream, sour mare milk (kumys) (the old product of Turkish nomad civilization), and finally on the usual herbs and berries found in Siberia.

44: Gilder --179 J-2 (1882) 1883 Yakut
116, 252, 262, 435

"All the lakes and rivers abound with most excellent fish, and the poorer classes eat nothing else. My observations here have led me to doubt the brain-producing character of a fish diet, or else that the fish here are of the right sort for that purpose. I can, however, attest the excellent quality of the fish, especially raw and frozen. In that case the skin is stripped off and long slices cut longitudinally from the fish, and eaten with or without salt, as the taste or means of those who eat may dictate. When eaten thus it is called by the Russians 'struganina,' and by the Yakouts 'tung bullok.' When cooked it is boiled, fried, baked or made into pie or biscuit. Reindeer meat is also eaten by those who can afford it, unless rich enough to eat beef, which they prefer, though why I could never discover, for the meat of the reindeer is much more delicate and tender, and has a peculiarly delicious flavor, probably derived from the fragrant moss that constitutes its food. It is cheap enough to satisfy the most economical housekeeper, a fine fat buck, entire, costing at Nishne Kolymsk only three roubles--that is, a dollar and a half--and at Sradnia five roubles. The meat of the reindeer is always excellent, while the beef is usually coarse grained and tough. At Nishne and Sradnia beef is more expensive than reindeer, at Werchojansk they cost about the same, while at Yakoutsk reindeer meat is the most expensive, and is only exceeded in price by the horse, which is a luxury only to be indulged in by the rich. It is a luxury, I believe, chiefly prized by the Yakouts, though I understand that it is served at the restaurants in Yakoutsk to those who desire it."

44: Gilder -- 332 J-2 (1882) 1883 Yakut
116, 252, 262, 264, 342, 556

"The country here [RCH: between the Aldan River and Yakutsk] is more thickly peopled than further north, but the houses are of the same construction--logs notched into each other at the corners and a flat roof of logs closely laid and covered with a thick layer of turf. The whole outside of the structure is afterward smeared with manure. The rich Yakouts live just like the poor ones-- the same kind of houses, one little end reserved for the family, and the other filled with cows and calves. At the season I passed through this country these people live entirely upon milk, rich and poor, alike. The milk is boiled with the inner bark of the pine tree, pounded first to break the fibres. Sometimes this dish is improved with a gallon or two of minnows, caught in traps that are set for the purpose in every lake and stream. I have eaten of this dish with these people in the fashionable style--that is, each male is provided with a large wooden spoon, and the pot is set in the middle of the table, so that every one can fish for himself. When one is hungry it is a very palatable dish, but I cannot understand how great, strong men can be satisfied to subsist on milk when they have an abundance of cattle. Perhaps it is this milk diet that makes such cowards of these people."

45: Lesseps--269-270 T-2 (1788) 1790 Yakut
116, 252, 262

" Their principal food, which they call bourdouk, gave me infinite repugnance. It is a kind of thick frumenty, made of rye meal and water, into which, after it is taken off the fire, they pour fish oil: the quantity they eat of it astonished and shocked me. I was told that in general they were not very great eaters; it was however added, that they now and then, as a treat, roast a horse, which is demolished in a few hours by a very small number of guests, and the intestines of the animal are by no means the least precious morsel. [270] Who would suppose that men of such voracious appetites, practice at other times a frugality that seems scarcely sufficient to support life, and frequently continue a number of days together without food?

46: Cottrell--138 T-2 (1840) 1842 Yakut
116, 221, 262, 342, 354

"They are a more sedentary people than most of their neighbours, and only migrate to find fresh pasture for their cattle once a year. Their summer huts are made of birch bark, of which strips are sewed together with horsehair. In autumn they return to their wooden sheds in the forests adjacent to the meadows where the hay is made and stacked up. These are covered over with a thick coating of cowdung, which keeps them warm, and they are not troubled with the smoke, from having chimneys which carry it away. These are wooden pipes well guarded from the fire by a thick plaster of clay and cowdung. The hut contains one window, always to the right of the entrance, which is filled up with a large block of transparent ice, which they scrape clean from the rime frost which attaches itself to it, when the pipe is stopped up at night. Their usual beverage in summer is the kumysse, made of fermented mares'-milk, which the Kirghis also drink, and their food consists of the thin under skin of the larch or fir boiled with fresh milk or curds. The richer classes eat butter and fat with it; many of them have a hundred cows and horses."

/182 cont./

114 Olenék, near the mouth, he found the sunken graves overgrown with moss and lichens; only a weathered wooden cross with a barely legible inscription recalls the hero to mind. Perhaps an age that has again turned its interest to a significant degree to the navigation of the Arctic Ocean will set up a worthy monument for this deserving champion at the place where he ended his heroic career.

175 At that time Russian peasants probably lived
178 here; perhaps the present inhabitants are in part descendants
[651] of the many crews that came here with those bold commanders; they still call themselves krestjáne, i.e., peasants, and their crown tax seems to be standardized accordingly, differing from that of the other Jakuten /Yakut/; in everything else they are completely Jakutized and any reminder of former times has
[829] disappeared. But they complain that they are becoming ever
[162] fewer, not, say, because of especially devastating sicknesses, but because only daughters are preponderantly born to them. I do not know whether this phenomenon also occurs among other ichthyophagists. But that is what they are in the truest sense of the word.

226 During the greater part of the year they feed themselves and
● 262 their dogs almost exclusively on fish. Mukssún and o'mul of
231 considerable size are the principal fish, also taiméne /taimen/ and néljma, for which, however, this was not the proper season, and therefore, instead of the anticipated delicacy, we had
226 to be content with the former, less prized fish. Otherwise only a few smaller kinds of fish are found here, but no sturgeon or sterlet, although these, as we /183/ learned on the journey, are caught, even though rarely, much farther upstream in the region of the Ssiligír. Fishing is also productive in the tundra lakes; in particular two kinds present there were brought to us, the ihúi and the mungnúr, the latter a very tasty fish that is also quite common in the Olenék itself, where from the Ssiligír

/183 cont./

226 on it was presented to us, caught both by our men and by the natives. Perhaps it is the fish found in the lakes of the Jenisseí /Yenisei/ tundra and called mutschugór there (actually, we once heard it called that on the Olenék), which the academician Schmidt mentions from hearsay and which is very highly prized there. It has pale pink, almost white flesh, is very fat, and is barely two feet long. Along the Lena the Russians call it tschir, but it is hardly identical with the Jenessei fish of this name.

[439] Fish do not represent a trade article here, but are caught by the natives only for their needs. Fishing is said to have been
● 262 not particularly productive this year, but no shortage was to be seen. Our two Tungus, with the abundant fat fish set before them in every possible form, even forgot their native crucian, for which they had longed during the whole trip, and even the unheard-of happened when old Golé refused an evening meal because he could not eat any more. Raw fish in particular, frozen hard, cut in chips, and taken without any condiments, usually even without salt, is a favorite dish, which, incidentally, in Irkutsk, where it is known by the name struganína, has its devoted admirers even in higher society. I myself could not acquire a taste for it.

136 Apart from fish, however, the coast here is very unproductive. No one was able to tell us anything at all about larger sea animals. /184/ A seal was supposed to have been killed some time ago as a rarity. Polar bears do not seem to be common either and are not hunted by the natives, who rather have a great respect for
223 them. In summer there is a surplus of water birds, which are captured in great numbers, especially during the molting season. We were also told of such, about the size of a small goose, that come, not from the south, but from the north, from the sea. Since something similar is reported by almost all the travelers who have visited the Siberian shores of the Arctic Ocean, the fact
224 cannot be doubted. Wild reindeer are present in abundance -- we saw a large herd on our trip through the tundra -- and are killed in various ways, but especially with springtraps. Many hares are found in the immediate vicinity of the ocean. The arctic fox, however, constitutes the real wealth of the natives here. It is very common on the tundra and is predominantly

/204 cont./

122 123 son Iwán to take care of any officials passing through, and we were thus entertained in the most friendly manner, and on the following day preparations were made at once for our unimpeded further journey.

On this evening I celebrated my birthday, for which for many weeks I had been saving a few cigars, /205/ which -- although, as I have said before, they had by no means come from Havana -- as a pleasure missed for a long time, put us in the jolliest mood. As of late we had had only pipe tobacco, which we had managed to get in Ssiktjách and Bulún with great difficulty [262] and which could hardly last as far as Werchojansk. Besides, our host had set before us a delicacy that we liked very much, a mixture of butter and whey, called konják here. It is made out of cow's milk and, to be sure, what interested us most, 231 here on the spot. To our great astonishment we had noticed a few horses and cows just a few versts from our present lodgings, which we had certainly not expected here, scarcely 30 versts from the timber line and at a latitude of about 70°. In Ssiktjách, located still somewhat to the south and much farther from the timber line, Mrs. Rjeschétnikow, who otherwise, as has been mentioned, was very successful in her acclimatization experiments, had told us about the impossibility of raising livestock in that region, and even much farther upstream on the Lena we were told that there were no horses, to say nothing of cattle, which, indeed, is scarcely found at all along the Lena beyond Jakutsk and its close surroundings.

We learned from our talkative host various details about his livestock. It consists of about 20 horses and over 10 head of cattle. The former were brought here by his grandfather and the present specimens were born and raised here. They belong to a small, but vigorous breed, have a thick pelt, and withstand the terrible cold very well. Summer and winter, day and night, they remain out in the open, and only the foals are treated somewhat more gently. /206/ Cattle raising, on the other hand, requires 343 much greater effort. The stable abuts directly against the yurt and gets its warmth from it, and also, in order not to let any cold in, has only one door, into the yurt, which in fact brings into

/259 cont./

122 interruptions, which were chiefly presented by Aufeis /surface ice/, over the ice of the Lena. The narrow road driven on was elevated above the surrounding surface of the snow almost everywhere, so that every approaching sled caused a halt, sometimes a very long one, when the vehicles, in the attempt to turn aside, fell off the roadway into the soft snow and then could be righted again only with great effort. More than once we were awakened out of a sound sleep by a sudden snow-bath, which, at a temperature of about -30° R is not a very pleasant surprise. My sole scientific work at the stations consisted of reading the aneroid in order later perhaps to calculate from that the approximate altitudes.

122 342 262 Never before or afterwards have I entered the stations with such repugnance as on this journey. In the Jakut /Yakut/ yurt between Werchojansk /Verkhoyansk/ and Jakutsk /Yakutsk/ it did not really smell pleasant, but here the stench was really beyond all conception. The dwellers along this part of the Lena, Jakuten as well as Russians, favor the /260/ peculiar taste of eating their fish, not prepared fresh or in any other civilized fashion, but after keeping them until they are completely fermented. All the dwellings are so poisoned with this horrible odor that it is actually hardly possible for a European to exist in them, to say nothing of eating, which, of course, is simply impossible outdoors. At every station where we wanted to eat, the provisions brought with us from Jakutsk, roasts and baked goods which our helpful friends had prepared, had to be kept in front of the fire for some time in 122 order to thaw out to some extent. It was undoubtedly on this very journey that I contracted the scorbutic complaint of which the European doctors could not completely cure me until several years later. It was therefore most agreeable to us when we received the news in the district capital, Oljókminsk /Olekminsk/, which we reached on the forenoon of December 20, that quarters were ready for us, since the isprawnik /ispravnik/ had been instructed in a special letter from the governor to give us as hospitable a reception as possible. Soon afterwards he appeared himself and very cordially invited us to lunch. We rested here a full 24 hours and then went on again to our next principal station, the hospitable Bánschtschikowa, not far from Kirensk, the previously mentioned

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was associated with the severe frost; this was a particular type of fur collar or mooyturuk made from rings of squirrel tails, so that the fur stood out on all sides; this collar was put round the neck in cold weather and covered both the nose and mouth; as the wearer breathed on it and the breath gradually froze, he kept moving it round so that there was always a dry spot opposite the mouth.

The Yakut heavy fur mittens were made with space for one finger and were attached by laces, by which they hung when taken off.

Typical of the footwear (eterbes) were high kneeboots made of undressed reindeer- or horse-hide, with the hair on the outside. The summer boots (sasry) were made of soft leather with a soft sole; the top part was covered with cloth and in the case of women with embroidery; the tops of the boots were tied with laces. Underneath the top footwear they wore high stockings (keenche) made of fur, or, later, cloth made in the shape of the foot. Linings of dry grass were also put inside the boots, and frequently changed.

The decorations on the women's clothing were particularly lavish and varied. Apart from various types of embroidery, appliqué and trimming, women also wore metal (silver) adornments, including large pendants consisting of rows of interlinked parallel, patterned chains hanging from a semicircle (kyl'd'yy), silver earrings of the pendant type (*имарҕа*), various patterned bracelets (*бөҕөх*), finger-rings (*бүһүлгэх*), silver crucifixes (Christian influence) on massive openwork chains and so forth; all these embellishments, chiefly possessed by the toyon women, were very skillfully made by the Yakut smiths.

As regards children's clothing, there was no special type. In the poorer families, the children ran about naked or wore rags; the children of wealthier parents wore the same kind of garments as the adults, except for the size and greater number of adornments.

Food

The diet of the Yakuts from the central ulusy before the Revolution consisted first of dairy products, second, fish products, after which came vegetable products, and, finally, meat. The variety, amount and quality of the food ranged between very wide limits in the various class groups. Dairy products were consumed mainly during the summer, and as far as possible stored up for the winter. Mare's milk was chiefly used to make kumys, a refreshing, nutritious and slightly intoxicating beverage, which the Yakuts drank readily and in large quantities. During the haymaking kumys was sometimes the staple diet; a great deal of it was drunk at summer festivals (*ысыах*—the kumys festival). Over the last few decades before the Revolution, on account of the decline in horse-breeding and the development of agriculture, the consumption of kumys dropped more and more. Mare's milk was not stocked for the winter. Cow's milk was not used very much in the fresh form, but was used to make a greater variety of products. First place among them was taken by the so-called suorat, or sora, a particular kind of thick sour milk with or without some cream added. In summer fresh suorat was the commonest food, but it was also used to make winter stocks; for this purpose it was kept in large birchbark vats, to which were added berries (blueberries), roots, bones (which dissolved in the lactic acid) and any left-over milk product, and as winter approached, the whole lot was frozen and kept in that form. The resulting tar was used in wintertime to make the drink butugas, to which was added, apart from the tar, water, a little flour, pine sapwood, roots, and so on. Cream skimmed from the milk was used in the fresh, whipped form; it was called *кэрэгэс*, highly

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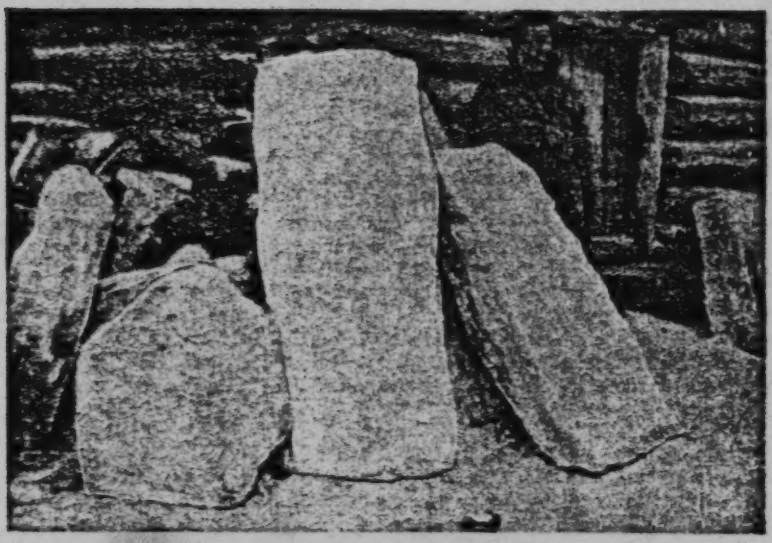

Frozen sour milk.

rated as a dish for guests or an accompaniment for other dishes; but most often the cream was churned into butter, also a favorite food of the Yakuts. Apart from normal melted butter, they made khayakh, a special variety of butter (made without removing the yuraga). Butter was readily consumed with the kumys, with bread, or simply without anything else in the liquid form; after frost or exhaustion, this drink quickly warms up the body and restores the strength; warm melted butter was sometimes drunk in large quantities at festivals, weddings, and so on. Naturally, the poorer people, and even the middle peasants, were only able to have such food on rare occasions. The Yakuts knew absolutely nothing of cheese or of the milk vodka known to the southern Siberian pastoralists.

The most important vegetable food for the poorer people had long been pine or larch sapwood. This not very nutritious substitute was made in the dry form for the winter and mixed with butugas, and was sometimes even the chief component of the latter. Greenery and berries were used as condiments for various dishes; the only berries not eaten by the Yakuts were raspberries, since they considered them to be unclean; nor did they eat mushrooms.

In the 19th century agricultural products, chiefly barley flour, began to come into use. The grain was processed by primitive methods. The flour was used to bake unleavened cakes which were eaten with butter or with kyuerchakh (they were baked in the hearth on wooden spikes or in a frying pan); they fried fritters in butter and also consumed salamaat, a thin porridge made of slightly roasted flour boiled in water with a little butter. Yakuts hardly knew about bread made with leavened dough. As regards vegetables, it was almost only in the Olekminskiy Okrug that they were known about and eaten.

A diet of fish was of exceptional importance in some of the northern regions where there were no cattle. In the central ulusy fish was eaten in

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particular by the poorer people who had no cattle, although it was also a secondary diet for the wealthier groups in the population. In the summer, people used to eat fresh fish boiled in water or slightly fried (carp and other small fish), on spikes or in a frying pan (the scales were removed but the innards were left untouched). A great deal of fish was stocked up for the winter, pickled in bark-lined pits; the acidified and half-rotten fish—syma—was then frozen and used to make butugas as a substitute for milk tar. The more valuable types of fish, particularly sterlet, white salmon, and whitefish of various types, were consumed in the raw, frozen form.

With rare exceptions, meat was eaten only in the wealthier households. Most highly valued was horsemeat, but even among the rich it was not served too often. Beef was eaten more frequently. The meat of various other animals, especially in the northern hunting regions, was also eaten. It was usually boiled (though attempts were made not to overcook it), and sometimes roasted in the old manner on wooden spikes. Fat was specially highly valued. The carcasses of slaughtered cattle were kept for the winter in frozen form. The Yakuts did not eat certain types of wild animals and birds—beasts of prey, sea gulls, ravens, cuckoos and owls—and they refused to eat the brains of domestic animals. During the 19th century, under Russian influence, bread began to be eaten and later salt, sugar and tea became part of the diet of the Yakuts. Dealers brought in vodka to the ulusy.

Hygiene

The living conditions of the Yakuts before the Revolution were extremely unhygienic. As a result of the filth, overcrowding and stagnant air in the yurt with its earthen floor and cattle-shed right next door conditions were completely abnormal. Furthermore, the Yakuts, particularly in winter, rarely washed themselves, and the washing of clothes was practically unknown.

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that there were frequent epidemics. Skin diseases were particularly rampant, and mange, ringworm, ulcers, and so on were due to the permanent contamination of the skin. Eye diseases (trachoma, etc.) were very common, particularly among the older people, a large number of whom lost their sight. According to the 1915 census, there were 110 blind people per 10,000 Yakuts. True leprosy existed in some of the damp, marshy regions; isolation shelters for lepers were arranged in out of the way spots. Tuberculosis was quite common.

Nervous disorders were widespread in the northern regions of Yakutiya, particularly among women, which was due to the difficult living conditions, exhausting work, and to a number of women's diseases, etc. The nervous disorders took such forms as Arctic hysteria, the so-called menerik, which is something like epilepsy; the sick woman throws a fit during which she shouts and raves until she falls asleep exhausted. Another, similar nervous disorder was *ыҥрах*; the symptoms are an unconscious, involuntary imitation of anything which frightens or astonishes the sufferer.

The Yakuts had no rational method of treating these ailments. They often used primitive domestic cures such as cauterizing, licking the pus from sores and so on. It was usual during sickness to resort to quack doctors and shamans.

Social Structure

The social structure of the Yakuts, as it had developed by the time of the October Revolution, was a peculiar mishmash of complex forms of

glass, tambours (extra doors with an air lock in between) and zavalinkas (mounds of earth around the house). A common practice is to ice over the house for the winter with a mixture of snow and water. Double ceilings, double floors, horizontal flues and shutters are still used, although rather rarely. The brick or tile stove is sometimes combined with the traditional Yakut fireplace. In many houses there is an extra iron stove in addition to the brick stove.

The internal appearance of dwellings has also changed. The furniture known before to the Yakuts (tables, stools and benches) has become less massive and more varied. We now find bookshelves, chairs, small dressing-tables and mirrors. Factory-made crockery and utensils are encountered in every home. Clocks (including alarm clocks), writing materials, and books have become common, and phonographs are also sometimes found. In most houses the walls are adorned with posters, pictures of Communist Party leaders, photographs, bookshelves, and over the bed there is usually a rug made of skin from the reindeer's head, bead-embroidered saddlecloths, or else the walls are covered with cloth. The windows have curtains.

Tremendous changes have taken place in the way of life of the Yakuts. Many collective farms now have electricity and radio. Clean clothes, hot baths, and attention to their personal appearance are typical of most of the collective-farm members. There has been a change in interests, habits and way of life. The outlook of the population has broadened. Books can now be found in every house. In the settlements people enjoy movies, and attend lectures and discussions in the reading rooms. Young people take part in ski-races, chess and other sporting events. Amateur song and dance groups in the clubs are usually of interest to the whole settlement. The families are no longer isolated and no longer keep to themselves.

A typical innovation for city children is toys, such as figures of horses and cows, rubber dolls, rattles, clockwork trucks, and so on. In addition to these, we commonly find delicately carved wooden animals and tiny bows and arrows. In the schools and boarding facilities children amuse themselves with the most popular table games. In the spring and summer they play various games, including hide-and-seek and blind man's-buff.

A great deal has changed in the Yakut diet, as well.

It should be remembered that before the Revolution Yakutiya was a country of chronic famine. Most of the Yakut population suffered from starvation every year, particularly at the end of the winter and in spring. Bread has now become a normal food not only in the southern but also in the northern areas. Groats and macaroni are now part of the staple diet. The consumption of vegetables and potatoes has also considerably increased.

In many regions the collective farms grow cucumbers, radishes, cabbages, onions and beets. Vegetables are imported in the dehydrated form. Everywhere the population is amply provided with tea, sugar, and tobacco. There are bakeries at trading points in most settlements. Meat and fish are consumed by the Yakuts in large quantities, particularly in the northern regions, where they are the staple diet. In the southern regions an important part of the diet is dairy products. On account of the overall improvement in the living standards of the people, sapwood is no longer consumed as food. Nor do they eat pickled fish any more. Local traditions are still retained in the cooking of dairy products, meat and fish. In the northern regions meat is commonly undercooked. Milk is made into some curious dishes such as suorat, khayakh, chokhoon, кобуур and so forth. In a number of regions reindeer gristle is still eaten in the raw state as a delicacy, and so are the liver and bone marrow of this animal. Many families eat freshly

Many families eat freshly

frozen fish in the winter. In some parts in the North fish is made into yukola. The fish is slightly smoked over a fire and then dried in the sun; it is also customary to salt and smoke fish. In the central regions people catch large numbers of hares, and partridge, geese and duck serve as a subsidiary part of the diet of the people in the north. 262

At the present time the outer fur clothing of the Yakuts (short coat, fur trousers, and kneepieces) is only retained for working. In the winter it is common to wear padded coats and trousers in the settlements. Throughout Yakutiya the local style of winter footwear made from reindeer skin (eterbes) and fur stockings (keenche) have been retained. These are also worn by travelers visiting these regions. Felt boots are worn in the settlements and towns in the winter. 291

The soft summer boots have not been replaced by factory-made footwear either. In the settlements people wear knee-boots, ankle-boots and shoes. For fishing use is made of rubber knee-boots. For hunting during summer in the taiga, preference is given to ichigi.

Whereas the high-pointed hats have fallen into disuse and are not made any more, the bonnet-type hat covered on top with cloth and trimmed inside with fur is still used, chiefly in most northern regions. At the present time hats with flaps with the fur outside are often made. The shawl made of squirrel-tails is rarely found and has been replaced by the normal type of scarf. Wide-brimmed summer hats made of horsehair have also fallen into disuse.

In the towns and villages men's and women's clothes are close in style to modern urban apparel. Cloth clothing has ousted suede shirts throughout. It has become customary to wear underclothing and use bed linen. Prior to the Revolution many Yakuts never washed their clothes, supposing that it would help to make them last longer. Underwear is now regularly washed.

Position of Women

The position of women in Yakutiya can be said to have radically changed. In Yakut families women used to occupy an inferior position (with fewer rights than among many other of the Siberian peoples) and took no part in public life. 562

M. D. Nartakhova, the daughter of a poor Yakut, has become a prominent figure in Yakutiya. She was educated at the Irkutsk Workers' University, after which she became a teacher, then worked as a political affairs instructor for the Central Executive Committee of the Yakut Republic, a Rayon Soviet chairman, an Obkom Party instructor, Rayon Committee Secretary of the Communist Party and since 1947 has been Social Security Minister for the Yakut ASSR. At the present time Comrade Nartakhova is chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Yakut ASSR. 562 159

In 1952, 44 women were elected to the Supreme Soviet of the Yakut ASSR and 3 women were made deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and RSFSR, while more than 2000 women (34.5 percent of all those elected) were members of the local soviets. Yakut women at the present time, occupy a great variety of posts. They are to be found as chairmen of the collective-farm administrations, chairmen of the nasleg soviets, and in administrative posts in the Communist Party and Komsomol. Many Yakut women have become teachers, doctors, nurses, and cultural officials. 1756 women work in education, 500 are doctors and 24 are scientists. In 562

178 the other hand, [201] the possibilities for maximizing profits from
439 the sale in foreign markets of such valuable furs as polar fox are not fully utilized, since on account of their trips transporting loads the carters are compelled to cut down on the number of times they can make the rounds of their traps.

233 In places where there are many fish and wild reindeer--for ex-
262 ample, in Pyasina--domestic reindeer are hardly ever used as food. On the other hand, in places where there is little game, the average family is forced to use a minimum of about forty head and more in the course of a year, especially in the east, where the population hardly uses any grain at all, substituting meat in its place. All parts of the reindeer are used for food, not excluding even the con-
233 tents of the stomach. Reindeer milk is also used as food. [Fig. 18].
234 They milk reindeer from June until Shroud-Day, the holiday called
262 "Pokrov" [Feast of the Protection of the Holy Virgin] (November 14), but there are also some cows without calves which are milked the year round. The milking is done once a day. In the summer they usually milk the reindeer before tea, so as to have milk to pour into their tea, and when they do this they milk with the right hand alone, and with the left hand they hold a mug or an iron bucket under the stream of milk. In winter they freeze the milk and eat it in this solid
233 form, chopped into small pieces. A cow usually gives a half-bucket
291 of thick, tasty milk. For eating purposes they kill only old and sick reindeer; for clothing they kill almost exclusively young reindeer. If a domestic reindeer is used for food during a scarcity of fish and wild game, its hide is much more often used for clothing, at least among the well-to-do, whereas the hide of a wild reindeer, owing to its coarseness, is used only by poor people. We propose to give more detailed information regarding the number of hides which are used by a family in one year for their various needs in a separate work on the clothing of the Dolgan.

321 From reindeer horns are fashioned various small household articles.

In concluding the ethnographic part of my work on reindeer breed-
121 ing among the Dolgan, I make the reservation that consideration of the Dolgan ideology was consciously left out by me; in order to see to what degree the whole religion of the Dolgan is permeated with elements of reindeer breeding, it would be necessary to describe the religion in a very detailed fashion, which is outside the scope of the present sketch. It is much more expedient to give a description of the religion separately in an independent work.

233 reindeer is his tall branching horns. Forked horns appear on calves already by the end of the first year, and they develop completely during the second year. The horns drop off every year in the spring and grow out again by autumn. The horns of male reindeer fall off during the last days of October, after the driving season. The horns of castrated males and of cows without calves fall off in March or April; those of cows with calves fall off on the fifth day after they have calved; the horns of emaciated or sick reindeer fall off in August, or else they remain on throughout the course of a whole year covered with skin. The natives saw off the horns of such reindeer right at the base in the springtime, since they say that everything the reindeer eats "goes to the horns" and that it does not get fat for this reason. On emaciated reindeer the horns are usually flaccid (emek) and soft; the horns of fat reindeer are firm, tall, and
232 branchy, especially those of males. Commencing in May--on
233 "George's Day" (May 6)--the Dolgan reindeer begin to grow new
262 horns. At first they are soft, and covered with a delicate, hairy skin; by July they grow firm (ossify). Up until this time the delicate radicles of the horns (tuora) often break off, and when this happens the natives tie off the horn at a place below the break with a string so that there will not be any hemorrhage, and so that rain water will not fall on that place and make the brain of the reindeer "rot"; they place moss on the wound or pour salt on it. The horns of calves are especially weak, and if they are not handled carefully enough the top of the skull (eelde) is sometimes torn off along with the horns. The short radicles of the summer horns before they ossify are considered a delicacy; the natives cut them off with a knife from the horns of living reindeer and eat the thin skin raw, singeing off the hair beforehand.

233 [203] In the autumn before the first snow the castrated bucks, the cows--starting on the "Day of Assumption [of the Holy Mother of God]" (August 28)--and the bulls begin to rub off the thin skin of their horns against trees and stones; this is accompanied by a considerable amount of bleeding, and the scraps of skin dangling from the horns produce a very unpleasant impression. The process of rubbing the skin off their horns by bucks is connected with their castration. If they are castrated before they start cleaning their horns, these reindeer simply do not "clean themselves" that year, and they shed their horns later.

233 Among the Dolgan every reindeer has a particular designation de-
552 pending on how old it is. A newborn calf is called sah'l tugut, and

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Dolgan

towards the reindeer in complete silence, and in summer they wore a protective gray coat the color of the stony tundra. Both in summer and autumn, until the first snow fell, the Dolgans used to trail wild reindeer with hunting dogs. They used poisoned bullets, and probably poisoned arrows as well in the past. As the poison they used rancid reindeer fat. The Dolgans living in the forest-tundra had wide skis of the Tungus type, but they could not use them in the tundra on account of the drifts.

Hunting wild reindeer was only of importance as a source of meat and skin for the Dolgans' own semisubsistence economy.

For catching geese they set traps or arranged noose-type snares by the nests, and also drove moulting geese into nets set up in advance or harried them with dogs and then killed them with sticks. Ducks were trapped with special nets stretched across lakes. Partridges were also caught this way, though only in winter. Sometimes a live female partridge was tied to the net as bait.

Polar-fox hunting was of quite considerable economic importance and produced the principal commercial yield. The animals were mainly caught with traps and snares. As it seized hold of the bait, the fox pulled away a stick and released a log which fell onto it. The principle of this trap was borrowed from the Russians; up to that time they had only set self-firing bows on stakes driven into the ground to catch the animals.

The commonest type of fishing tackle both in summer and winter under the ice was an upright net 6–30 m long. The nets were made of threads or horsehair brought from Yakutya. In the Noril'sk Rayon the nets were used in the autumn in mountain rivers. The draught animal employed for this purpose was the reindeer and the ropes from the net were attached to its saddle. Other types of nets were used to a very limited degree. Seines were also commonly used for sterlet, burbot, pike and grayling and trout with hooks prefabricated from bent 10-cm nails. Burbot was also caught with special bone points instead of hooks.

For traveling by water, mainly for fishing purposes, there were tree-trunk canoes brought by the merchants from the Yenisey, or bought from the Yakuts. There were few boats; it was only on the rivers Pyasina and Khatanga that they were used.

The Dolgans subsisted mainly on meat and fish. These were boiled or dried and the fish was also eaten in the raw, frozen and unfrozen forms. Fish was also kept in pits where it was pickled. Dead geese were kept buried in the ground. Certain roots were also eaten; they were dug up with reindeer horns or special wooden trowels.

The old type of nomadic dwelling among the Dolgans was the conical Tungus-type tent covered with thin panels of suede (in the summer) and deerhide (in the winter). In the old days the Dolgans, like the Evenks, built huts of the Yakut type, but without the windows, benches and hearth.

With the advent of the Russians the huts were gradually ousted by sledtents or baloks. These are little huts on runners. The framework consists of wooden struts tightly covered with bright-colored calico, and on top, to keep it warm, there is a layer of deerskin and a canvas cover to guard against damp. In this kind of dwelling there are two windows with glass, an iron stove, bunks, a table, and sometimes even chairs. Whereas the erection of a pole tent required a great deal of labor during the cold winters, this type of tent can simply be pulled along the ground to a new site. These tents were borrowed in the last century from Russian merchants who traveled in them through the tundra.

Among other structures we should point out storehouses standing on high piles for keeping winter clothing and utensils.

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Dolgan

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Kindergarten on a walk. Taymyr National Okrug, Khatangskiy Rayon.

families, but on the initiative of the collective-farm administration, and their routes are determined in the same way. Fishing brigades sent to fish in some river or lake lead a settled life there, partly in houses built by the collective farm at the fishing grounds.

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[The Dolgans, particularly the descendants of the tundra peasants, had Russian cottages even before the Revolution. They now build sturdy houses, using both imported lumber and driftwood. The old-fashioned pole tent is now used only in the summer.

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[The Dolgan diet now includes bread, flour, and tea, boiled strong and taken with sugar. Supplies are brought in regularly to the local stores. Medical aid is available at 40 medical and medical-assistant points. The Dolgan-Yakut population is served by hospitals at Noril'sk and in the settlements of Chernoye, Volochanka and Khatanga. In 1953 there were 52 schools, including 3 seven-year schools, in the Taymyr National Okrug. The Dolgan-Yakut population is served by schools at Chernoye, Dolgany, Volochanka, Kheta, Khatanga, Popigay and other points.

177
262
743
871